/394 cont./

193 169 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emigrated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The 174 199 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently, the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oauuú palm of the Paranatinga, and [199] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 1123 [166] As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to [484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the 619 431 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

175 722 223 563 [190]

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the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women, captured in hostile encounters with the Pareasí, we must attribute, in the first place, the xtensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 166 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to thefact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them took away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do notknow whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendry superstitions of the 175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, theBatovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Seinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his 175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be- 619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatiga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal [128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

175 /17 cont./
219 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
• 166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
[103] side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

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175 159 622 648 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako, and his father, Seseriarí, had participated in the above-mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducion de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducion /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 166 Already in the last decade of the past century, when Herrmann Meyer paid the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expedition to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6. Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin. Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über eine zweite

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII. 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

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Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/26 cout./

159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Doña Rosa
593 Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
[194] /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luiza Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutú's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

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the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly decreased through José Coroado's defection with his people and through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses. He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

/28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing, the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

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178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
535 beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
291 urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
302 of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
794 shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Souza a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich. Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/. Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcelios, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that [166] already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt. "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

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114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[173] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeirão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
• 166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[179] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[109] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
622 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

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622 159 114 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 115 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcellino Caminage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jange Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

361 622 [166] Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally 114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo.

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131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paranatinga
193 River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
137 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/. Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58. São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
195 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
199 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture,
they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember
the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good
informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

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THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Brockman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 80 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.